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The EXAMINER.

From Monday June 21. to Friday June 25.

Conſuetudo omnium domina rerum, tum maxime verborum eſt. Gellius.

THE Arbitrary Dominion and Force of *Party* hath made more *Bigots* than *Superſtition*, and more *Slaves* than *Conqueſt*. A *Tyrant* is often contented with a bare acknowledgement of his Right, without the Exerciſe of it; and the *Spiritual Impoſtor* may be well enough pleas'd, if his Followers pay only an external Obedience to his Impoſitions and Innovations, without ſurrendring up their Minds to a firm and ſteady Belief of them. But *Party* requires more of the Man; and claims him more entirely to her ſelf, to be wholly diſpoſed of in her Service. If the Vaſſal, who wears her Chains, and is gall'd with her Yoak, does not ſhew himſelf every day in her Retinue, give conſtant Proofs of his abject Subjection to her Power, and neglect no Opportunity, either by Sufferings or Exploits, to exert himſelf for the ſupport of her unjuſt Acquiſitions and Uſurpations; he is preſently branded as a Renegado and Deſerter, ſtands expoſed to confederate Malice and Reſentment, and is hunted out of the Herd, or gored to Death by *raſcally Numbers* of his own *Species*. If the implicit Believer does not turn a perfect *Party-Fanatick* and *Enthuſiaſt*, if his Faith does not kindle into Zeal, if he only Votes without the Merit of making Noiſe enough, if he juſt Credits what is told him, and does not publiſh it with advantage, if he only ſubſcribes to all the *Whig-Articles*, but under pretence of wanting a Call, is careleſs to diſpenſe them to others: In ſhort, if his Noſe, or his Hand, or his Voice, be all that is *Whiggiſh* about him; if he only ſuffers himſelf to be told and reckon'd among them, or pronounces a faint *Monoſyllable* in their Favour; he is preſently in danger of being ſuſpected of Reprobacy in his Heart, he is excluded all Truſt, left out of the Secret, and turn'd down among thoſe unſeaſonable Fools, who would ſtill be meaning ſomething by *Motion*, when both the *Word* and the *Vertue* are out of Fashion.

Thus *Party* engroſſes all the *Rational* and *Animal* Faculties and Powers to herſelf. All the *Brute* and all the *Man* muſt be devoted to her Service: and ſhe carves out the Perſon very *Anatomically*, aſſigning to every Part its proper Office and Function. She fills the Head with *Sedition*, furniſhes the *Mouth* with *Lyes* and *Clamours*, lifts up the *Arm* for *Oppoſition*, and lodges *Rebellion* in the *Finger-ends*; makes the *Feet* ſwift to hunt for Miſchief, the *Throat* an *open Sepulchre*, the *Ears* the Receptacle of infected Air, and the *Lips* the Voiders and Canals of Poiſon. Thus far the corrupt Part is render'd ſtill more Corrupt, for the ſole Uſe and Benefit of *Faction*: But *Party* goes deeper, and when ſhe Engroſſes, as well as when ſhe Subverts, aims at no leſs than *Root and Branch*. Both the *Inward* and *Outward Man* muſt be given up and dedicated to her. All the *Talents*, *Vertues*, and *Abilities* of her Followers, are allow'd and acknowledged, only as they appear to be narrow'd and drawn off from the Care of the *Publick*; ſo that *Faction*, by receiving all the Advantages of them, is to have the ſole Privilege of fixing their Standard, and aſſigning their Value, in oppoſition to *Country*, *Conſtitution*, *Qu—n*, *Suc——r*, *Fellow-Subjects*, *Poſterity*, or any other Power whatever laying Claim to our Duty, or pretending Obligations upon us, or Authority over us. This *Fury* and *Demon* of *Party* may indeed keep entire Poſſeſſion of the *Paſſions*, by being able to find conſtant Employment for them; and by allowing them to run riot, and fly out into the moſt unwarrantable Exceſſes, even to *Frenzy* and Madneſs; which in this, as in the Caſe of *Love*, are often admitted for Marks and Inſtances of Sincerity. She may indeed make an entire Conqueſt of the *Appetites*, and tie every one of them faſt to her Intereſts; not by curbing and ſubduing them, but by giving them a looſe, and gratifying all their moſt unlawful and inordinate Deſires, when ſhe has Power and ſtands upon the Pinnacle, *with all the Kingdoms of the World, and the Glory of them* placed below her; or when ſhe is fallen herſelf, by promiſing to regain *Paradice* for them, and by raiſing their Expectations far above all probability or even poſſibility of Enjoyment: And whatever Power can thus far command the *Paſſions* and *Appetites*, muſt have no ſmall Influence upon the *Underſtanding*. *Reaſon* can never bear up with ſuch a Load of Corruptions continually oppreſſing it; and *Conſcience* is in no ſmall danger of being deprived of all Force and Vigour, all endeavours even for its own Preſervation, when there are ſo many Deluſions to amuſe, ſo many Miſtakes to miſ-lead, ſo many Temptations to blind, and ſo many ſtrong Habits to ſear and harden it. For *Right* and *Wrong*, *Good* and *Evil*, *Truth* and *Falſhood*, muſt loſe their difference, or at leaſt our *Party-men* muſt be incapable of diſcerning it, when they look only to one ſide; when they make the Intereſt of a *Faction* their *chief End* and *greateſt Good*; and judge of the Legality of the *Means*, only by their fitneſs and diſpoſition to bring about the Purpoſe for which they were intended. Thus far *Party* can go; and however theſe Speculations may ſeem to be overwrought, and to be carried too far, as I have drawn them out in a general View, without deſcending to daily Facts and common Experience; yet whoever will make that Application, and try the Picture by the Life, muſt grant me, that we have many Monſters of this kind among the *Whigs*, with all the Deformities I have deſcribed about them; and that ſince they became numerous enough to make a *Species*, they have not, by being leſs Odious, become leſs Formidable too. But now that *Party* ſhould go a length even beyond any thing I have already mentioned, and ſhould corrupt our very *Language*; that it ſhould raiſe new Differences between *Words*, as well as *Voices*; that it ſhould endeavour to draw the moſt innocent *Sounds*, and even the neutral *Air* into the Diſputes and Quarrels of the Times, is very extraordinary and ſurprizing. The Fact however cannot be denied; not only the *Bible* and *Statute-Book*, but the *Accidence* and *Vocabulary*, are maim'd and miſinterpreted, and in danger of being wholly overthrown and laid aſide; and this makes it ſo much the more ſeaſonable to take care of the *Education of our Youth*. *Cuſtom* does indeed go a great way towards ſuppreſſing a ſupernumerary *Word*, or introducing a new one proper and tuneable.

Multa renaſcentur, quæ jam cecidere: cadentq;
Quæ nunc ſunt in honore vocabula, ſi volet uſus,
Quem penes arbitrium eſt & jus & norma loquendi.

But

—66—

But that *New Meanings* for *Old Words* ſhould obtain and come in vogue, and ſuch as do not only enlarge or reſtrain, but perfectly contradict and overthrow an *Eſtabliſh'd Signification*; this is without Precedent, and muſt Pave the Way for *Soleciſms* and *Grammatical Hereſies*, deſtructive of all good *Literature* and *Common Senſe*; and of that *Unity in Converſation*, which is kept up by the unalterable Agreement between *Signs* and *Things*; and upon which *Commerce*, *Juſtice*, and *Human Society*, do very much depend. This is not *Freedom*, but *Anarchy of Speech*; and every one, who can ſpeak as his Country teaches him, muſt bear his Teſtimony againſt ſuch dangerous Innovations. If this *Mark* of *Babel* be upon us, we are not far off from *Confuſion*; and after that, but one remove from Deſtruction and final Overthrow.

I did formerly publiſh ſome ſeaſonable Animadverſions upon ſeveral groſs Errors, which the Ignorance and Pedantry of *Parties* had ſlily introduc'd into the *Engliſh Dictionary*. Theſe had their deſir'd Effect; and I ſhall now take notice of ſome further Corruptions of this kind, which lie in the way of every *common Reader*; and unleſs he is ſet right concerning them, he can never judge clearly of thoſe *Party-Diſputes* and *Controverſies*, which are now taking their Career from the *Preſs*.

I would be glad to know, by what Authority the Word *(Monarchy)* comes to ſignify a ſmall Converſation of *Honourable* and *Right Honourable* Perſons, not leſs in number than *Five* nor more than *Nine*, met together at *Jenny's* or *North——d-Houſe*, without *Crown* or *Scepter*, *Hereditary* or *Parliamentary Right*: Whoſe Subjects and Vaſſals ſtill continue to ſay; *We live, God be thanked, under a Monarchy.* The Power, that formerly went by that Name, never claim'd any higher Meaſures of Obedience, than what they are pleas'd to oblige themſelves to, in the Preſence of this New-Modell'd *Majeſty*: And it would be of no ſmall Advantage to have the Terms, *Supremacy*, *Legiſlature*, and *Lawful Authority*, adjuſted and fully explain'd in the *Whig-Vocabulary*; becauſe it is great Pity that ſo many Subjects, ſo well diſpos'd to be *Good*, *Loving* and *Loyal*, ſhould be miſtaken in the proper Object of their Duty and Allegiance.

I wiſh it were agreed, by what Cuſtom and Precedents the Word *(Government)* and its ſynonimous Term *(Conſtitution)* can mean a particular Sett of Men, erected into a Society, without Charter and without Commiſſion; to whom all the Submiſſion is daily paid, which us'd to be due ſomewhere elſe; before this Innovation got Footing among us. For unleſs the proper Signification of theſe Words be ſettled and aſcertained, we ſhall not be able to reconcile the honeſt Deſign of *Being in the Intereſt of the Government*, and *for the Conſtitution*, with a courſe of open *Enmity* and violent *Oppoſition* to *Both*. *Fighting* and *Firing* againſt, *Beſieging* and *Routing*, *Impriſoning* and *Depoſing the Powers in being*, for their *greater Safety*, and to make them *more truly Glorious*, having been a Secret in Politicks, that was never yet throughly underſtood, ſince its firſt Riſe in the Year 1648.

I ſhould be glad to hear the Word *(Toleration)* or if you pleaſe *(Inviolable Toleration)* ſo explain'd, as to import a *natural Right* in favour of *unnatural Diviſion*. Whence it might appear, that an *Exemption from Law* was a *Fundamental in Law*, and that a *Temporary Indulgence* ſignify'd ſomething *Perpetual* and *Unalterable*. I deſire the worthy *Author* of the *Critical Hiſtory of the Creed*, would try to find a *lucid Interval*, in which to expreſs himſelf as clearly as poſſibly he can, upon ſo important a Subject.

I intreat further, that the Term *(Church)* may be ſo far taken care of, that it be not laid to *Common*, but carry with it ſomething of the *Idea* of a *Pale* or *Incloſure*. For if, as *Catholick*, it ſhould be enlarg'd to ſuch a degree, as to include thoſe who are not yet *Chriſtians*; or if, as it ſignifies the *Church of England*, it ſhould miraculouſly include thoſe, who will not ſtay in it; in either of thoſe Caſes, it would be very difficult to know the real Difference between being *For* or *Againſt* it.

It would be a great Satisfaction to me, to have the Name *(Patriot)* which Sounds well enough, put in Poſſeſſion of a Meaning of ſome ſort or other. For unleſs it be ſpeedily agreed upon, that we muſt thereby underſtand ſuch a Perſon, who is for *conſuming Impracticable Wars*, a *promoter of Diviſions* for the ſake of *Security*, an *Abettor* of *State-Robbers*, a *Concealer* of *Publick Plunder*, an *Abjurer* of *Allegiance*, and a *Diſturber* of the *preſent Peace*, out of ſincere Love for *Poſterity*; we ſhall be ſtrangely reduc'd in our *Catalogue* of *Heroes*; and there are at leaſt *fifty Authors* of a Year's ſtanding, all whoſe elaborate *Panegyricks* and *Flights* of *Oratory* muſt become mere *Blanks*, and dwindle into profound *Banter* and *Irony*.

I could alſo wiſh, that the Term *(People)* had a Signification given it, which might bear ſome proportion to the bulky *Idea*, that always heretofore went along with that Expreſſion. If once it could be brought to ſtand for a *Minority*, or for *One part* in *Seven* of the Inhabitants of this *Iſland*, then what *ſome People* Claim for *other People* in the Name of the *People*, would ſound a little like common Senſe: But at preſent we take the Compliment to be meant only for *Themſelves*, their *Friends* and *Acquaintance*.

Laſtly, I think it highly convenient to let Mankind know, that by the complex Term *(Natural Right)* we are to underſtand much ſuch another Thing in *Politicks*, as *Materia Prima* is ſet to ſignify in *Ariſtotle*, *Materia Subtilis* in *Cartes*, the *Light* in *Barklay*, and *the Vita Quieta* in *Molinus*; that is to ſay, a Name for a ſeaſonable Amuſement to prevent further Enquiries: And then the good Senſe and clear Reaſoning of ſeveral *Modern Tracts* will be plain and obvious. But as things now ſtand, we cannot comprehend, how *every Body* ſhould be born to a *Right*, which *no Body* fully underſtands to this very Day.

When all theſe *Terms*, *Simple* and *Complex*, are thus fairly Interpreted, and determined to their proper Meaning; then the Truth of the *following Propoſition* will become Indiſputable and Self-evident. *The* Whigs *are for* Monarchy *and the* Conſtitution: *For an Eſtabliſh'd* Church, *and an Inviolable* Toleration: *For the Nation's beſt* Patriots, *and the* Natural Rights *of the* People. But at preſent, I do not remember to have met with any Propoſition, of the ſame Size, in the *Talmud*, *Alcoran*, the *Legends* of *Popery*, or *Preachings* of the *Diſſenters*, ſo Senſeleſs, Intricate and Unintelligible, ſo profoundly Nonſenſical, or ſo full of *Reſerves* and *Equivocations*.

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